

# The Sun.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1904.

Entered at the Post Office at New York as Second-Class Matter.

Subscriptions by Mail, Postpaid.

DAILY, Per Month	\$2.00
DAILY, Per Year	\$20.00
SUNDAY, Per Year	6.00
DAILY AND SUNDAY, Per Year	26.00
DAILY AND SUNDAY, Per Month	2.16
Postage to foreign countries added.	

Published by The Sun Printing and Publishing Association at No. 170 Nassau street, in the Borough of Manhattan, New York.

If our friends who favor us with manuscripts for publication wish to have rejected articles returned, they must in all cases send stamps for that purpose.

Readers of THE SUN leaving the city can have the Daily and Sunday editions mailed to their addresses which may be changed when necessary for 70 cents a month. Order through your newsdealer or THE SUN, 170 Nassau street.

## Grover Cleveland, Trust-Buster.

We reprint from *McClure's Magazine* the essential parts of a narrative of uncommon interest. Mr. CLEVELAND tells the story of his enforcement, just ten years ago, of the Federal legislation against conspiracies in restraint of interstate commerce; and of his memorable assertion of the power of the Government at Washington to protect itself in the exercise of its Constitutional functions, anywhere in the republic.

The particular conspiracy with which President CLEVELAND and his Attorney-General, RICHARD OLNEY, dealt so promptly and vigorously ten years ago was that of a trust organized in the name of labor. Quite as directly as any illegal combination of capital in restraint of trade, it menaced, to use CUSHMAN K. DAVIS's words, "the only liberty having in this country—the equal liberty of all men alike." The violent boycott of 1894 was put down by Mr. CLEVELAND with a strong hand that brushed aside Governor ALGER and his anarchistic protests and restored government by law and respect for law.

Read this plain recital of events from the outbreak of insurrection to the final justification of Mr. CLEVELAND's course in Illinois by the Supreme Court of the United States.

What President of the United States ever did a braver deed or instituted a more righteous precedent, or built a stouter safeguard against mob tyranny, than this greatest and most successful of trust-busters, GROVER CLEVELAND?

## Controvertible Assertions in the Republican Platform.

The supply of thoroughly sound and impenetrable timber at the disposal of any political party seems to be limited, and, consequently, it is scarcely possible to construct a weak platform without putting some weak planks into it. The Whigs in 1840 were so keenly alive to this fact that they put forward no platform at all, thus giving their opponents nothing to shoot at. Senator LODGE and his fellow members on the Committee of Resolutions at Chicago have gone to the other extreme and framed a platform of extraordinary length. The wisdom of their course remains to be tested. Certainly, some of their averments are easily refutable.

It is, for instance, simply untrue that Republicans deserve any more credit than do Democrats for the liberation of Cuba. Notoriously, it was not the Republican, but the Democratic press, which, for many years preceding the memorable month of April, 1895, riveted public opinion on Spain's rapacious treatment of the Pearl of the Antilles, and aroused our countrymen to a recognition of their duty in the premises. It is also notorious that not for a moment from March 4, 1897, up to the destruction of the Maine in the harbor of Havana on Feb. 15, 1898, had the Republican Administration the faintest intention of interposition on behalf of the unfortunate island. Nor have well informed persons forgotten that, even after our battleship was blown up in an ostensibly friendly port, the late Senator HANNA came on to Wall Street with the reassuring announcement that "there will be no war." Neither is a tenacious memory needed to recall the sturdiness with which not only Speaker THOMAS B. REED, but also certain Senators known to be spokesmen of the Republican Administration, opposed for hours during that long and eventful night in the ensuing April the passing of the resolutions which rendered war inevitable. Whatever credit should be given for the creation of the sentiment to which the freedom of Cuba is due, by far the larger part of it belongs to the Democrats. The Democrats sowed; the Republicans reaped.

Neither do the facts bear out Senator LODGE's assertion that "we, to wit, the Republicans, have given the people of Porto Rico 'prosperity.' Peace and order undoubtedly the islanders have, as they had under Spain. Some local autonomy they have also, though as regards participation in the national Government they are represented far less adequately in the Congress at Washington than they were in the Cortes at Madrid. As for their being prosperous, that of course is impossible so long as their chief export staple, coffee, is left a drug upon their hands. By annexing Porto Rico we deprived her coffee of its former market in Spain, and we have refused to give it a market in the United States, as we could have done by imposing a duty on its Brazilian competitor. We need not say that if coffee were grown in any of our States the rival product of Brazil would long since have been taxed. But, in the eyes of Republicans, a son of our loins is one thing; a stepchild is another.

In times past Senator LODGE and President ROOSEVELT have undertaken to make more than one contribution to the stock of American historical compositions. They will not seriously claim that they have made one of value when they assert in their platform that "a Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity." Do they assume that the mass of Ameri-

can voters have no memories? Or have they lost their own? Ever the people of the United States have been more prosperous than they were under the tariff of 1840; and was or was not that tariff framed by the Democratic party? Has our country ever witnessed during the last sixty years a more calamitous suspension of credit, upsetting of values, paralysis of business and prostration of industries than it witnessed in 1873; and was it a Democratic or a Republican tariff which at that date had been operative for upward of a decade? Was the next disastrous crisis attributable to the Democratic tariff, which was not enacted until after the crisis culminated in 1893, or to the McKinley tariff, which had been for some time operative when the crisis began in 1892?

Senator LODGE, with his tongue in his cheek, has the assurance to claim the recent expansion of our foreign markets as a merit of the Republican party. If that expansion could be ascribed to an adoption of the reciprocity policy earnestly commended by the late President McKINLEY in his last public speech, the claim would be indeed well founded. As a matter of fact, the dying injunction of a martyred Chief Magistrate has been treated by his successor with silent contempt. Not even from this platform, so obviously fashioned on *ad captandum* principles, is it possible to extract even the semblance of a definite promise on the subject.

As for the assertion that the maintenance of the gold standard cannot be safely committed to the Democratic party, the truth or falsity of the averment depends on the platform and the standard bearer that are put forward at St. Louis. A man must be congenitally or conveniently oblivious who forgets that in the first half of 1896 the most outspoken, resolute and uncompromising champions of the gold standard were not the Republicans, who thrust aside the candidacy of THOMAS B. REED for the Presidency, and who, with a wink, inserted in their platform a professed desire for international bimetalism, but the Gold Democrats, who sternly repelled the Free Silver heresy by which, temporarily, their own party had been beguiled.

## A Humane Suggestion.

On Wednesday the Stationers Board of Trade of New York sent out this circular:

"GENTLEMEN: Whereas our city has recently been visited by one of the saddest calamities known in its history, it would seem that this is a time when charity is needed in a financial way by the families of those who were lost in the General Slocum disaster, and as it has been suggested by one of our officers that our Board of Trade solicit contributions from its members, and the trade in general, we should be pleased to receive your check for such an amount as you feel inclined to give, and we will see that the same is handed to the relief committee appointed by Mayor McCLELLAN. Yours, respectfully, THE STATIONERS BOARD OF TRADE, 'H. M. CONNITT, Secy.,' 'NEW YORK, June 22.'

This circular seems to have been sent out to the stationers' trade generally, in New York and elsewhere in the Union, for we have received from Boston a letter of protest against it, to this effect:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Sir: The enclosed circular of the Stationers Board of Trade of New York is the limit. The Slocum disaster was a terrible one, but it was apparently due entirely to the greed and graft of New York steamboat men and officials, and it seems out of place, under the circumstances, for the richest city of the country to be begging of outsiders. 'BOSTON, June 23.'

The point made in this letter concerning the responsibility for the disaster has no pertinence to the humane suggestion of the appeal circulated. However caused, whether by negligence or cupidity, the suffering and the need of relief are the same. Undoubtedly, there is no need for soliciting the aid from other communities than this, in whose waters the awful calamity happened; but probably the New York Stationers Board sent its circular to members of the trade outside of New York simply to afford them an opportunity to join in giving expression to humane impulses. Whatever may be the need of the sufferers by the disaster, New York is both able and ready to supply it without "begging of outsiders."

## Golf Courses Too Easy.

The comments of Mr. TRAVis, British and American amateur champion player of the ancient and royal game of golf, should be instructive to all golfers on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. TRAVis, returning home after defeating the crack players of the British links, frankly says that over there they know a great deal more about the game than we do here. They have twenty scratch men where we have one. What is the reason? Mr. TRAVis declares that we shall never equal the British in golf till we stop trying to make our courses easy.

That is sound talk. The American fondness for golf began among men of mature years. The game appealed first to those who could no longer enjoy the vigorous activities of such games as tennis and baseball. Golf offered to these a beneficial open-air exercise, not violent, not exhausting, continuously interesting, and free from the embarrassments surrounding games attractive to spectators. The delightful privacy of a dufer's match at golf is not the least of the game's allurements.

The younger persons of both sexes soon took up the game. Competition became intense, and the great American hunger to beat some one broke out. With this came the fierce desire to become an expert quickly. Few true American golfers are really willing "to labor and to wait."

Now, golf is one of the most subtle of the games of the field. It looks extremely easy, but it is liberally equipped with snares and pitfalls. Digging vainly at a little white ball buried in bunker sand or tangled in long grass is pitifully disheartening. Yet it takes a long time to play golf so that these miseries may be avoided. What, then, must be done in order to shorten the road to proficiency? Why, make the fair green as smooth as a billiard table and many scores of yards wide. Cut the bunkers down to a nominal height and put fine wide pits in front of them. If there are

any ugly natural hazards in the course, remove them if possible.

Too much of this sort of thing has been done. Since the rubber-cored ball came into use many courses have been lengthened, but they have not been thereby made any more difficult. The lengthening has served only to keep the short drivers in their places. Too many of our courses are so laid out that one can play all over the fair greens, going far out of line, without incurring any penalty. Accuracy in direction should be made the most important feature of play. Distance should come second. Mr. TRAVis did not find that the crack English players were any better than ours at the long game, but they played more accurately. That is the true secret of success in golf, and to attain accuracy players should be forced to study direction in order to keep out of trouble.

## Mr. Ford on Country Hotels.

That observant philosopher the Hon. SIMON FORD is back from abroad with the information that "the best hotels in this country are a thousand times better than the hotels of corresponding reputation in England"; and he tells us that "the quiet, modest little hotels throughout Great Britain have much that is worthy of praise."

Comments of similar purport have been made by explorers who have penetrated to the interior of the British Isles prior to Mr. FORD's achievement. Others have gone even further than he goes. They have not only advanced the proposition that American city hotels are the best in the world, but have also declared that American country hotels are the worst in the world.

Indeed, in this last respect there seems to be a pretty general agreement among travelers. So far as known our national preeminence in the matter of bad country hotels appears to remain unchallenged.

Why should this be? Has country inn keeping in America become a lost art since the stage coaching days? People are now again taking to the woods. We have good roads, too, leading to places where it would seem that attractive wayside inns might prosper; we have the vehicles, self-propelling and otherwise, to trundle over the roads; we have good store of roving spirits with purses by no means lean. We've got the roads and the "mobes" and the money, too. Why, then, are we without the places to which all mobes, money and roads legitimately should lead—good inns? There are scores of cozy, shady villages within the automobile zone around New York where inns as good as those which make rural England such a delight to the wayfarer man should live and thrive. Why are they not there?

It seems rather a pity that Mr. FORD, as an experienced traveler, did not devote some thought to elucidating this problem. We fear he has come back rather a pampered person. He complains a good deal—complains, for instance, that American chamberladies do not put studs in guests' evening shirts and lay them out in readiness for wear; complains, forsooth, of too much mutton in English hotels!

Mutton, indeed! Did he ever listen to that ominous "hammer, hammer, beefsteak" mortuary chant of the ladies in waiting of the country hotels at home? Did he ever listen to this knowing in the anguish of his soul that no matter which of the choices of physical suffering he selected—whether it be the ham, the lamb or even the beefsteak—it was an even chance that it was fried?

The report that a Nome steamer, with 250 passengers on board, has been caught in the ice and carried into the Arctic through Behring Strait will not cause much solitude unless confirmed by conclusive details. Behring Sea is very little affected by the conditions of oceanic circulation in the large oceans. We know of no current moving either north or south through Behring Strait. A tiny branch of the Japan current invades the shallow waters of Behring Sea, but it is deflected to the Asian shore and does not reach the Strait.

There is no tidal influence to cause any important ebb and flow of waters through the strait. Just south of it the tide has a daily range of barely one foot; and a little north of it, on the Asian coast, the tidal range is only one-fifth of a foot. All authorities agree that the easterly and north-west currents in that part of the Arctic Sea are not produced or influenced by water coming through Behring Strait.

The prevailing south winds of June sometimes clog the strait with drift ice, but there is no record of a vessel being carried either north or south through the Strait in the pack. The danger is north of Behring Strait, where, late in the season, a vessel may be imprisoned in the new ice offshore. One or more whalers in the Arctic Ocean have thus been kept in custody till the ice around them became a part of the thick ice covering of the frozen sea, moved off to the north-west, and the vessels were lost.

He hypothesizes obstacles, looks them in the eye and overpowers with self-conscious honesty of purpose. Knickerbocker.

And what did the eloquent KNICKERBOCKER, the new BOY INKORNOLO, mean by self-conscious honesty?

The President must have been annoyed by one of those minor incidents of the Chicago convention, which he, with all of his watchfulness, could not possibly foresee. Before proceeding to the business of nominating him, the delegates rose to their feet and sang what they called the national anthem. It was "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" that they sang. The President could not have dreamed that the convention would be forgetful of the fact that only a few weeks ago, through his Secretary of the Navy, he issued a decree that the "Star Spangled Banner" was the national anthem of this land, and must so be treated hereafter for all time, on all the naval vessels carrying the Stars and Stripes.

He does not claim to be the SOLOMON of his time. He is merely trying to be a good man. Mr. BLACK'S nominating address.

The danger in epigrammatic oratory is its tendency to indiscreet revelations.

## Insults.

First Morse—Our mission certainly has nerve. Second Morse—Yes, to ride right behind us with a hot hat, and she knows our only cost \$200.

Mr. Cleveland's remarkable account in *McClure's Magazine* for July of the Government's action in the Chicago strike of 1894 compels universal attention. Seven short stories and "George Madison Martin's" serial provide abundant space. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker describes organized capital, Mr. John Edgar Hoover describes organized labor, Mr. John Edgar Hoover describes organized labor, Mr. John Edgar Hoover describes organized labor.

## GROVER CLEVELAND AND THE CHICAGO BROTHERS.

The Ex-President Tells in *McClure's* the Story of Duty Fearlessly Done.

From an article by Mr. Cleveland in *McClure's Magazine* for July.

It is my especial purpose to review the action taken by the Government for the maintenance of its own authority and the protection of the special interests entrusted to its keeping, so far as they were endangered by this disturbance; and I do not intend to especially deal with the incidents of the strike, except in so far as a reference to them may be necessary to show conditions which not only justified but actually obliged the Government to resort to stern and unusual measures in the assertion of its prerogatives.

On the 30th day of June, 1894, the District Attorney of Chicago reported by telegraph that mail trains in the suburbs of Chicago were, on the previous night, stopped by strikers, that an engine had been cut off and disabled, and that conditions were growing more and more likely to culminate in the stoppage of all trains; and he recommended that the Marshal be authorized to employ a force of special deputies, who should be placed on trains to protect mails and detect the parties guilty of such interference. In reply to this despatch Attorney-General OLNEY on the same day authorized the Marshal to employ additional deputies, as suggested, and designated Edwin Walker, an able and prominent attorney in Chicago, as special counsel for the Government, to assist the District Attorney in any legal proceedings that might be instituted. He also notified the District Attorney of this action, and enjoined upon him that "action ought to be prompt and vigorous," and directed that he should employ the special counsel who had been employed.

In a letter of the same date addressed to this special counsel, the Attorney-General, in making suggestions concerning legal proceedings, wrote: "It has seemed to me that if the rights of the United States were vigorously asserted in Chicago, the origin and centre of the demonstration, the result would be to make it a failure everywhere else, and to prevent any further trouble in this connection he indicated that it might be advisable, instead of relying entirely upon warrants issued under criminal statutes, against persons actually guilty of the offence of obstructing United States mails, that the courts should be asked to grant injunctions which would restrain and prevent any attempt to commit such offence. This suggestion contemplated the inauguration of legal proceedings in a regular and usual way to reach those prominently concerned in the interference with the mails and the obstruction of interstate commerce, basing such proceedings on the proposition that under the Constitution and laws these subjects were in the exclusive care of the Government of the United States, and that for their protection the Federal courts were competent, under general principles of law, to intervene by injunction; and on the further ground that it was the duty of Congress, July 3, 1890, in conspiracies in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States were declared to be illegal, and the Circuit Courts of the United States were therein expressly given jurisdiction to prevent and restrain such conspiracies.

On the 1st day of July the District Attorney reported to the Attorney-General that he was preparing a bill of complaint to be presented to the court the next day, on an application for an injunction. He further reported that very little mail and no freight was moving, that the Marshal was using all his force to prevent riots and the obstruction of tracks, and that this force was clearly inadequate. On the same day the Marshal reported that the situation was desperate, that he had sworn in over 400 deputies, that many more would be required to protect mail trains, and that the situation was becoming more and more serious. He further expressed the opinion that 100 riot guns were needed.

Upon the receipt of these reports, and anticipating an attempt to serve injunctions on the following day, the Attorney-General immediately sent a despatch to the District Attorney directing him to report at once if the process of the court should be resisted by such force as the Marshal and his deputies could command. He further directed that the United States Judge should join in such report. He at the same time sent a despatch to the special counsel requesting him to report his view of the situation as early as the forenoon of the next day.

In explanation of these two despatches it should here be said that the desperate character of this disturbance was not in the least underestimated by executive officials at Washington, and the mob is increasing and becoming more defiant. In view of the situation as reported by Gen. Miles, he was at once directed by Gen. Schofield to concentrate his troops, in order that they might act more effectively in the execution of orders theretofore given, and in the protection of United States property. This despatch concluded as follows: "The mere preservation of peace and good order in the city is, of course, the province of the city and State authorities."

The situation on the 6th day of July was thus described in a despatch sent in the afternoon of that day by Gen. Miles to the Secretary of War: "In answer to your telegram, I report the following: Mayor Hopkins last night issued a proclamation prohibiting riotous assemblies and directing the police to stop people from molesting railroad employees and passengers. Governor Allen has ordered Gen. Wheeler's brigade on duty in Chicago to support the Mayor's authority. So far, there have been no large mobs like the one of yesterday, which moved from Fifty-first street to Eighteenth street before it was dispersed. The lawlessness has been along the line of the railways, destroying and burning more than one hundred engines and railway buildings, and obstructing transportation in various ways, even to the extent of cutting telegraph lines."

On the 8th day of July, in view of the apparently near approach of a crisis which the Government had attempted to avoid, the following Executive proclamation was issued and at once extensively published in the city of Chicago:

Whereas, by reason of unlawful obstruction, combination and assemblies of persons, it has become impracticable in the judgment of the President to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within the State of Illinois, and especially in the city of Chicago, within said State; and

Whereas, for the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States and protecting its property and removing obstructions to the United States in the State and city aforesaid, the President has employed a part of the military forces of the United States; and

Therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens, and all persons who may be or may come within the city and State aforesaid, against aiding, countenancing, encouraging, or taking any part in such unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblies; and I hereby warn all persons engaged in or in any way connected with such unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblies to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock, noon, of July 8th, 1894, and to refrain from any further acts of violence or disorder.

Those who disregard this warning and persist in taking part with a riotous mob in forcibly resisting the lawful authority of the United States, will be held responsible for the consequences.

It should by no means be inferred from this despatch that it had been definitely determined that the use of a military force was inevitable. It was still hoped that the effect of the injunction would be such that such an alternative might be avoided.

A painful emergency is created when public duty forces the necessity of placing trained soldiers face to face with riotous opposition to the General Government, and in opposition to an acute and determined resistance to law and order. This course, once entered upon, admits of no backward step; and an appreciation of the consequences that may ensue cannot fail to oppress those responsible for its adoption with sadly disturbing reflections. Nevertheless, it was perfectly plain that, whatever the outcome might be, the situation positively demanded such readiness and promptness, in case the resistance of a military force should finally be found necessary.

On the morning of the next day, July 3, the Attorney-General received a letter from Mr. Walker, the special counsel, in which, after referring to the issuance of the injunctions and setting forth that the Marshal was engaged in serving them, he wrote: "I do not believe that the Marshal and his deputies can protect the railroad companies in moving their trains, either freight or passenger, including, of course, the trains carrying United States mails. Possibly, however, the service of the writ of injunction will have a restraining influence upon Debs and other officers of the association. If it does not, I am present appearances I think it is the opinion of all that the orders of the court cannot be enforced except by the use of a regular army and United States troops."

Thereupon the Attorney-General immediately sent this despatch to the District Attorney: "I trust use of United States troops will not be necessary. If it becomes necessary, they will be used promptly and decisively upon the justifying facts being certified to me. In such case, if practicable, let Walker and the Marshal and United States Judge join in statement as to the exigency."

A few hours afterward the following urgent and decisive despatch from the Marshal, endorsed by a judge of the United States Court and the District Attorney, and special counsel, was received by the Attorney-General:

CHICAGO, Ill., July 3, 1894.

The Hon. Richard Olney, Attorney-General, Washington, D. C.:

When the injunction was granted yesterday, a mob of from two to three hundred held possession of a point in the city near the Rock Island, by which the crossing of the Rock Island, by other roads, where they had already dined a mail train, and prevented the passing of any train, whether mail or otherwise. I read the injunction with the mob and commanded them to move. I am unable to disperse the mob, clear the tracks, or arrest the men who were engaged in the acts named, and believe that no force less than the Regular troops of the United States could restore the passage of the mail trains, or enforce the orders of the courts. I believe people engaged in trades are quitting employment to-day, and in my opinion will be joining the mob to-night and to-morrow; and it is my judgment that the troops should be here at the earliest moment. An emergency has arisen for their presence in this city. J. W. ANGLIS, United States Marshal.

We have read the foregoing, and from that information and other information that has come to us believe that an emergency exists for the immediate presence of United States troops.

P. S. GRONCUP, Judge.

EDWIN WALKER, Attorney.

THOMAS E. MILLER, Atty.

Gen. Miles, commanding the department, arrived in Chicago on the morning of July 4, and at once assumed direction of military movements. In the afternoon of that day he sent a report to the War Department at Washington, giving an account of the disposition of troops, recounting an unfavorable condition of affairs, and recommending an increase of the garrison at Fort Sheridan sufficient to meet any emergency.

In response to this despatch Gen. Miles was immediately authorized to order six companies of infantry from Fort Leavenworth, in Kansas, and two from Fort Brady, in Michigan, to Fort Sheridan. On the 5th day of July he reported that a mob of two thousand had gathered that morning at the stock yards, crowded among the troops, obstructed the movement of trains, knocked down a railroad official, and overturned about twenty freight cars, which obstructed all freight and passenger traffic in the vicinity of the stock yards, and that the situation was becoming more and more serious. He at once sent a report to the War Department at Washington, giving an account of the disposition of troops, recounting an unfavorable condition of affairs, and recommending an increase of the garrison at Fort Sheridan sufficient to meet any emergency.

In view of the situation as reported by Gen. Miles, he was at once directed by Gen. Schofield to concentrate his troops, in order that they might act more effectively in the execution of orders theretofore given, and in the protection of United States property. This despatch concluded as follows: "The mere preservation of peace and good order in the city is, of course, the province of the city and State authorities."

The situation on the 6th day of July was thus described in a despatch sent in the afternoon of that day by Gen. Miles to the Secretary of War: "In answer to your telegram, I report the following: Mayor Hopkins last night issued a proclamation prohibiting riotous assemblies and directing the police to stop people from molesting railroad employees and passengers. Governor Allen has ordered Gen. Wheeler's brigade on duty in Chicago to support the Mayor's authority. So far, there have been no large mobs like the one of yesterday, which moved from Fifty-first street to Eighteenth street before it was dispersed. The lawlessness has been along the line of the railways, destroying and burning more than one hundred engines and railway buildings, and obstructing transportation in various ways, even to the extent of cutting telegraph lines."

On the 8th day of July, in view of the apparently near approach of a crisis which the Government had attempted to avoid, the following Executive proclamation was issued and at once extensively published in the city of Chicago:

Whereas, by reason of unlawful obstruction, combination and assemblies of persons, it has become impracticable in the judgment of the President to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within the State of Illinois, and especially in the city of Chicago, within said State; and

Whereas, for the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States and protecting its property and removing obstructions to the United States in the State and city aforesaid, the President has employed a part of the military forces of the United States; and

Therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens, and all persons who may be or may come within the city and State aforesaid, against aiding, countenancing, encouraging, or taking any part in such unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblies; and I hereby warn all persons engaged in or in any way connected with such unlawful obstructions, combinations and assemblies to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock, noon, of July 8th, 1894, and to refrain from any further acts of violence or disorder.

Those who disregard this warning and persist in taking part with a riotous mob in forcibly resisting the lawful authority of the United States, will be held responsible for the consequences.

stating and obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, or interfering with the functions of the Government, or destroying or attempting to destroy the property belonging to the United States or under its protection, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a public emergency, and such an emergency is created when public duty forces the necessity of placing trained soldiers face to face with riotous opposition to the General Government, and in opposition to an acute and determined resistance to law and order. This course, once entered upon, admits of no backward step; and an appreciation of the consequences that may ensue cannot fail to oppress those responsible for its adoption with sadly disturbing reflections. Nevertheless, it was perfectly plain that, whatever the outcome might be, the situation positively demanded such readiness and promptness, in case the resistance of a military force should finally be found necessary.

With these considerations in the decisive treatment of the guilty, this warning is especially intended to protect and save the innocent.

On the 10th of July, Eugene V. Debs, the president of the American Railway Union, together with its vice-president, general secretary, and one other who was an active director, were arrested upon the complaint found against them for complicity in the obstruction of mails and interstate commerce. Three days afterward our special counsel expressed the opinion that the strike was practically broken. This must not be taken to mean, however, that peace and quiet had been completely restored or that the transportation of mails and the activities of interstate commerce were entirely free from interruption. It meant only the expression of a well-earned and deliberate expectation that the combination of measures already inaugurated, and others contemplated in the near future, would speedily bring about a termination of the difficulty. On the 17th day of July an information was filed in the United States Circuit Court at Chicago against Debs and the three other officials of the Railway Union who had been arrested on indictment a few days before, but were then at large.

Conclusive proof of the successful assertion of national authority was furnished when on the 20th day of July the last of the soldiers of the United States who had been ordered for duty at the very centre of opposition and defiance, were withdrawn from Chicago and returned to their military posts.

I hope I have been thus far successful in my effort to accurately exhibit the extensive reach and perilous tendency of the convulsion under consideration, the careful promptness which characterized the interference of the National Administration to avoid extreme measures, the careful limitations of its interference to purposes which were clearly within its Constitutional competency and duty, and the gratifying and important results of its conservative but assertive activity.

I must not fail to mention here as part of the history of this perplexing affair, a contribution made by the Governor of Illinois to its annoyances. This official not only refused to regard the riotous disturbances within the borders of his State as a sufficient cause for an application to the Federal Government for its protection "against domestic violence," under the mandate of the Constitution, but he actually protested against the presence of Federal troops sent into the State upon the General Government's own initiative and for the purpose of defending itself in the exercise of its well defined legitimate functions.

Immediately upon the receipt of his protest, I sent to Governor Altgeld the following reply:

Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the constitution and the laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that obstructions of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the Federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof of the existence of a conspiracy between the State. To most these conditions, which are clearly within the province of Federal authority, the presence of Federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper, but necessary; and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city.

I shall conclude the treatment of my subject by a brief reference to the legal proceedings which grew out of the disturbance, and which were determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that obstructions of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the Federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof of the existence of a conspiracy between the State. To most these conditions, which are clearly within the province of Federal authority, the presence of Federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper, but necessary; and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city.

It will be recalled that in the course of our narrative we left Mr. Debs, the president of the Railway Union, and his three associates in the custody of the law, on the 10th day of July, awaiting an adjournment of the court, charged with contempt of court made against them, based upon their disobedience of the writs of injunction forbidding them to do certain things in aid or encouragement of interference with mail transportation or interstate commerce.

This investigation was so long delayed that the decision of the Circuit Court, before which the proceedings were pending, was not rendered until the 14th day of December, 1894. On that date the court delivered an able and carefully considered decision finding Debs and his associates guilty of contempt of court, basing its decision upon the provisions of the law of Congress, passed in 1880, entitled: "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopolies;" some of the provisions of which are as follows: "Whoever obstructs or attempts to obstruct the free passage of interstate commerce, or who obstructs or attempts to obstruct the free passage of mail matter, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court."

Afterward and on the 14th day of January, 1895, the prisoners applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of habeas corpus to relieve them from imprisonment, on the ground that the facts alleged against them did not constitute disobedience to the writs of injunction, and that their commitment in the manner and for the reasons alleged was without justification and not within the constitutional power and jurisdiction of the Circuit Court.

On this application the case was elaborately argued before the Supreme Court in March, 1895, and on the 27th day of May, 1895, the court rendered its decision, upholding in the broadest grounds the proceedings of the Circuit Court and affirming its adjudication and the commitment to jail of the petitioners thereupon.

Justice Brewer, in delivering the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, stated the case as follows:

The United States, finding that the interstate transportation of persons and property, as well as the free passage of mail matter, is a matter of national importance, and that a combination and conspiracy exists to obstruct the control of such transportation to the will of the conspirators, applied to one of its courts sitting as a court of equity for an injunction to restrain such obstructions and prevent carrying into effect such conspiracy. Two questions of importance are presented: First, are the relations of the Government to the transportation of persons and property, and the free passage of mail matter, such as to authorize a direct interference to prevent a forcible obstruction thereof? Second, if authority exists as aforesaid, are governmental affairs implicated both power and duty? A case of equity jurisdiction to issue an injunction in aid of the performance of such duty?

Both of these questions were answered by the court in the affirmative; and in the opinion read by the learned Justice, the inherent power of the Government to execute its official agents, on every foot of American soil, the powers and functions belonging to it, was simply vindicated by a process of reasoning, simple, logical, unhampered